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The book is not free from typographical errors, especially in the latter half. A line seems to have fallen out near the bottom of page 205, and near the bottom of page 241 the correct statements are reversed. There is an index.

JOHN WINTHROP PLATNER.

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

S. AGOSTINO. ERNESTO BUONAIUTI. Ed. Formigini. Roma. 1917.

A small book, but a very valuable contribution to the spiritual history of St. Augustine. The *Confessions*, written more than fifteen years after Augustine's conversion, rather than a true historical autobiography, is a typical demonstration, applied to his own career, of his theories about the work of God in the government and the spiritual pedagogy of the elected souls. Less mystical but more objective indications of the process which led Augustine to accept the Christian faith are to be found in his philosophical works written in the solitude of Cassiciacum, shortly before his baptism (*Contra Academicos*, *De ordine*, *De beata vita*). In the light of what Augustine says in these books his spiritual crisis appears to have been eminently intellectual in character rather than mystical. When in the year 383 Augustine left Carthage to start a school of rhetoric in Rome, his old Manichæan faith was already tottering and his thought was leaning towards Academic agnosticism. His dream of making a fortune in Rome was quickly shattered when, after several months of hard work in teaching, he found his class-room deserted the very day in which his students were supposed to pay their fees. There came in time a vacancy in a chair of rhetoric in the public schools of Milan, and Augustine started for the imperial city of Northern Italy.

But this year of Roman life was not without influence in Augustine's spiritual and moral evolution. It was a very prosperous period for the Roman Church. After the troubles of his election Pope Damasus had successfully strengthened his authority, and a series of imperial decrees bestowed upon him astounding privileges and authority even in civil matters, giving the force of public law to his decisions on Church discipline and faith. Jerome, then the faithful secretary of Damasus and the idol of the Roman Christian aristocracy, was organizing that ascetic revival which later on led to the foundation of the Latin monasteries in Palestine. The pagan element was rapidly sinking down before the blossoming of

the Christian vitality, and it was that very year that by imperial decree the *Ara Victoriae* of the Roman Senate was overthrown and the fate of the old State religion officially sealed. Although in Augustine's writing very little is found about his experiences in Rome, yet there is no doubt that while he made a step further towards agnosticism, on the other hand he was deeply impressed by the powerful organization of the Roman Church, and acquired a better knowledge of the social and political value of Christianity in the Roman world.

In Milan two new factors exercised a decisive influence on his life: the adoption of the Neoplatonic philosophy, which delivered him from the materialistic postulates of Manichæan dualism and from the anthropomorphic tendencies traditional to African theology; and his acquaintance with the great Milanese bishop, Ambrose. In Neoplatonism Augustine found an idealistic representation of the gnoseologic fact, a pure notion of the Godhead, and finally a solution of the problem of evil which had so long distressed his mind. The influence of Ambrose, his impressive biblical exegesis, his aggressive theology, and especially the example of his life of unbounded and heroic devotion to the Christian ideal of a new society founded on righteousness and charity, were no less effective on Augustine's mind. It seems that it was in the solitude of the villa *ad Cassisiacum* near the Alps that he finally realized the gaps which were to be found in the Neoplatonic interpretation of the universe, and that those gaps could be filled only by the dogmas of the Christian faith. Having christianized his Neoplatonism, and being also fully aware of the high value of practical Christianity in social and political life, Augustine was ready for baptism, which was administered to him by Ambrose in the year 387. Of course, the mystical element was not completely absent from this crisis; Neoplatonism itself is permeated with mystical tendencies; but in Augustine's spiritual rebirth mysticism followed and fostered the whole process, but did not create it. It became, however, more and more prominent in the successive stages of his religious life, so that when, almost seventeen years later, he wrote his *Confessions*, his mind was already used to look into his past life through his new mystical conception of the universe, and thus he was led to describe it in terms of his mystical experience. That is why in his *Confessions* he exaggerates the importance of the faults of his youth, discovering a sinful tendency even in the innocent avidity of the baby for the maternal breast, or in the childish theft of some pears from a neighboring garden, and representing as an unpardonable crime his relation with a concubine.

As a matter of fact, we know from the decree of the Toletan council of the year 400 that to live with only one concubine, namely, a woman of inferior condition, as Augustine did, was not even considered as a sufficient reason to exclude a member from the Christian community.

The successive theological evolutions of Augustine confirm such a view of the character of the initial crisis which led him to Christianity. His theology is the theoretical abstraction of his practical daily work in the Church, and his episcopal praxis is simply religious philosophy put into action. Such a theology was not thought of in the solitude of a monastic cell like that of Aquinas, but was shaped and ripened under the strain of practical necessities and of vital polemics on the most various points and frequently in opposite directions. A strong mind, like that of Augustine, could not fail, working under those circumstances, to pass again and again through a sieve his own ideas and to modify them in a substantial way, according to the new religious experiences of which his life was so rich. That happened especially in regard to the greatest problem of Christian ethics — the question of sin and free will.

In the fervor of the Manichæan polemics against cosmic dualism, Augustine emphasized the spiritual nature of God and the negative conception of evil; in this period therefore his affirmation of free will is absolute. But later in the new Pelagian polemics the problem appeared to him under a new light. In the last analysis the question was whether the redemptive action of Christ involved a real and complete palingenesis of the human soul, or a mere perfection of the Law; whether efficient divine grace received through the sacraments is necessary for justification, or whether human nature can reach such a justification by its own original powers. A few years before (396–397) and so between the two great controversies — the Manichæan and the Pelagian — Augustine under the influence of Ambrosiaster's commentary on Romans had modified radically his views about original sin and its deadly effects on mankind.¹ This new pessimistic conception of mankind, as of a *massa damnata*, and the reaction against the Pelagian emphasis on human capacity to work salvation by itself, led Augustine to deny virtually the individual value of every human action and to formulate his famous principle that the free man is not he who has liberty of choice between two alternatives, but only he who follows with joy the will of his master.

¹ See the article "The Genesis of St. Augustine's Idea of Original Sin" published by Professor Buonaiuti in this Review, April, 1917.

The last part of the book deals with Augustine's ecclesiology, and with the religious-social content of the *City of God*. In connection with the latter point, Professor Buonaiuti attacks Professor E. Troeltsch's recent book on Augustine; in which it is assumed that the *City of God* is a mere synthesis of primitive Christian ethics, leading to asceticism and renunciation, and therefore void of any real political value and unable to supply the ideological material for a sound social organization. In fact, Professor Troeltsch, analyzing the political and social elaboration of the Christian world in the Middle Ages, does not discover any trace of a valuable influence of Augustine's thought on the events of that historical period. Professor Buonaiuti starts with criticizing the common erroneous assumption that in the mind of Augustine the City of God is simply the Church. There is no identity between the two institutions. The antithesis between the City of God and the City of Satan is in a moral way applied to the social and political life: the City of God is the society of the idealists and altruists, the City of Satan is the society of the egoists. The passage in Book XIV, 28 is a clear statement of Augustine's thought:

"Two loves built up the two cities: self-love, namely, the egotism which blinds men to despise God, built up the earthly city; the love of God and ideals involving self-sacrifice built up the celestial city. The former takes glory to itself; the latter puts its glory exclusively in the Lord. The former goes after earthly praise; the latter trusts in God revealed in the testimony of conscience. The former proudly lifts up its head; the latter bows humbly to God, saying, 'Thou art my glory and my triumph.' The citizens of the earthly city are dominated by the lust of conquest, which leads them to make slaves of the others; the citizens of the celestial city help each other with a spirit of sweet charity, and fulfil faithfully their social duties."

How to know to which city each of us belongs is evident: "Interroget ergo se quisque quid amet, et inveniet unde sit civis." Christianity, like other mystery-religions, proclaimed the rights and the inviolability of the individual conscience. Augustine developed the social inferences depending logically upon this principle, and set forth the Christian theory that political ethics cannot have a different ground from individual ethics. There is only one fundamental criterion of human values, because there is only one supreme end for human activity — the realization of the divine ideal of goodness. And this is a philosophy of history which is eternal and applies to human history in all its stages.

Such is in a rapid outline the content of Professor Buonaiuti's little book. We cannot say that this estimate of Augustine's

religious crisis as more of an intellectual than of a mystical character is entirely new and wholly original, but certainly it has never been propounded in such a definite way and so well harmonized with the whole of Augustine's intellectual and spiritual career, in a vigorous synthesis of his life and his theology. Being a work of synthesis, there is no room for details in the book. As for the synthesis itself, like all syntheses, it has a personal element, which, however, does not at all diminish the objective value of the study.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN EUROPE (1250-1458). EPHRAIM EMERTON.
Ginn & Co. 1918. Pp. xiv, 550. Maps. \$1.80.

The publication of this new volume by Professor Emerton is an event of great interest to a host of his students and friends. And his students include a very large proportion of all those who have studied history in the last generation, not only at Harvard but throughout the United States. For it is now thirty years since the appearance of his *Introduction to the Middle Ages*. The older of the present generation of professors welcomed this with admiration as the best book on the subject, and used it in their classes. Many of the younger professors now in service began their serious study of history with this *Introduction*. A few years later his *Mediaeval Europe* was published, and now we have the third volume in the series.

The author has had a more difficult task than in either of the preceding volumes. In the first the contrast and contact of Roman and Teuton and the influence of the Christian Church dictated the treatment. In the second, "we see Europe wholly under the sway of two vast ideas, feudalism and the Roman Church system." Very different "is the subject of our present study. It is a chapter in human history of which no brief general description can be given. It is impossible to point to any peculiar institutions that govern its life. As we try to unfold the tangled thread of its history, we seem to find only confusion and disorder." But under Professor Emerton's masterly analysis the seeming confusion is straightened out, and we see the orderly evolution of the forces which controlled the period. In order to grasp the important lines of thought the Preface, from which these quotations have been taken, must be carefully read. It is so closely packed with matter that any attempt at condensation is futile. It is summed up, in part, in the following sentence: "This